DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 144 729 RC 010 054

AUTHOR Lassey, Marie; And Others
TITLE Drinking Among Rural Youth with Implications for Rural Institutional Development.
INSTITUTION Idaho
PUB DATE Sep 77
NOTE 51p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society (Madison, Wisconsin, September 1977)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Alcoholism; *Behavior Patterns; Communication (Thought Transfer); Community Influence; *Drinking; Family Influence; Friendship; Grade 8; Grade 12; Literature Reviews; Mass Media; *Parent Child Relationship; Parent Influence; *Peer Relationship; *Rural Youth; Secondary School Students; Social Behavior; *Student Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS *Idaho

ABSTRACT

During a 3-month period ending in January 1977, questionnaires were given to 889 eighth and twelfth grade students to determine the extent of drinking among rural teenagers in Idaho, and the sociological and psychological factors affecting their drinking habits. At least 16% of 8th graders and 34% of 12th graders drink frequently. A much higher proportion of each age level drink occasionally. Both groups tend to have their first drink at home; home is also the most frequent drinking place for 8th graders, and the car is the most common drinking place for 12th graders. Both groups obtain alcoholic beverages primarily from their friends. Drinking behavior of parents, closeness of relationship with parents, and communication with parents are strongly related to drinking patterns of both groups. An even stronger relationship, particularly for 12th graders, exists between drinking and friendship patterns. Parents are most influential in determining whether drinking occurs for non-drinkers in both grades. Friends are more influential for frequent drinkers in both grades. Problem drinking is more likely to occur among families without close ties and when problem oriented communication between parents and child is minimal. Non-drinkers in both grades feel that parents are the best source of information about alcohol. The same is true for 8th graders who drink. However, the 12th grade drinkers feel the mass media are the most credible. Therefore, any program to discourage alcohol abuse must consider these factors. (NQ)

Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.

rec 26-09-77

ED144729

DRINKING AMONG RURAL YOUTH WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Marie Lassey, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, University of Idaho

John E. Carlson, Associate Professor of Sociology and Rural Sociologist, Departments of Agricultural Economics and Sociology/Anthropology, University of Idaho

Maurice E. McLeod, Research Assistant, Departments of Agricultural Economics and Sociology/Anthropology, University of Idaho

Janet Erb, Graduate Research Assistant, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, University of Idaho

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Marie Lassey

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND THE ERIC SYSTEM CONTRACTORS."

Prepared for presentation to the Annual Meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Madison, Wisconsin, September, 1977. This study was supported by funds received from the Idaho Legislative appropriation for Short Term Applied Research (STAR).

RC010054

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DRINKING AMONG RURAL YOUTH	1
THE FAMILY AND PROBLEM DRINKING	2
THE PEER GROUP AND PROBLEM DRINKING	5
METHODS	7
DEFINITIONS	9
FINDINGS	9
Drinking Behavior	9
Beer Drinking and Sex Divergence	11
Location of Drinking	12
Securing Alcohol	15
FAMILY INFLUENCE	16
Fathers' Drinking Behavior	16
Mothers' Drinking Behavior	16
Relationship with Father	19
Relationship with Mother	19
Communication with Father	21
Communication with Mother	22
INFLUENCE OF PEER GROUP	22
Drinking Behavior of Friends	23
Number of Friends	25
Communication with Friends	26
INFLUENCE OF FRIENDS, PARENTS, AND OTHER ADULTS	27
CREDIBILITY OF ADULTS	27
COMMUNITY SATISFACTION	30
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	31
IMPLICATIONS FOR INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT	32

Page

ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM OPTIONS 33

Programs Involving Parents. 33
Schools. 34
Peers. 35
Mass Media 36
Community. 36
Severe Alcohol Abuse 37

REFERENCES. 39

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Drinking behavior	10
2.	Beer drinking among males and females	12
3.	Location of initial drinking	13
4.	Most frequent place of drinking	14
5.	Securing alcohol	15
6.	Drinking and frequency of father's drinking	17
7.	Drinking and frequency of mother's drinking	18
8.	Drinking and relationship with father	19
9.	Drinking and relationship with mother	20
10.	Drinking and communication with father	21
11.	Drinking and communication with mother	22
12.	Drinking and proportion of close friends who drink	23
13.	Drinking and best friend drinking	24
14.	Drinking and number of close friends	25
15.	Drinking and talking about problems with best friends	26
16.	Drinking and predominant influence	28
17.	Drinking and credibility of information	29
18.	Drinking and community satisfaction	30

DRINKING AMONG RURAL YOUTH

The purpose of the present study is (1) to determine the extent of drinking among teenagers in a sample of rural communities in Idaho, (2) to determine sociological and psychological factors affecting the drinking habits of teenagers, and (3) to recommend, on the basis of the findings, improvements in rural institutional arrangements for dealing with the drinking problem and associated mental health issues.

Research on problem drinking among teenagers has concentrated heavily on the influence of family and peer groups in urban settings. There have been few investigations on the use of alcohol among people reared in rural or small communities, even though a comparable problem exists.

Earlier reports show variations from 34% to 86% in samples of high school students who "report drinking at least occasionally" (Adler and Loteka, 1975; Bacon and Jones, 1968; Globetti, 1972; Harford, 1976; Maddox and McCall, 1964; Rachal et al., 1975; and Weschler and Thum, 1973). High school students from rural areas have apparently tended to drink less (see Globetti and Windham, 1967; and Glassco, 1975).

For example, Bacon and Jones (1968) report that 44% of rural Kansas teenagers, as compared to 86% in more urban Nassau County, New York, drink at least on some occasions. In a recent national study (Rachal, 1975, p. 74) metropolitan youth were less likely to be abstainers than non-metropolitan youth.

Although only a small proportion of teenagers may be considered problem drinkers, a study in New York (U. S. News and World Report, 1975) indicates that youthful drinking may be closely related to later problem drinking; "those who start imbibing before the seventh grade become more frequent and heavier drinkers than those who begin later." Drinking behavior is also associated with sex, age, peer relationships, and nature of the home situation (Kane and Patterson, 1972).

Most studies report that males tend to drink more than females at all ages (Alexander, 1969; Forslund and Gustafson, 1970; Globetti, 1972; Harford, 1976; Maddox, 1964; Preston, 1968; Rachal et al., 1975); however, Weschler and Thum (1973) found no sex difference among senior high school students. Bacon and Jones (1968) noted that the difference in rural areas is greater at early age levels.

THE FAMILY AND PROBLEM DRINKING

Parental socialization is clearly important as a factor in drinking behavior of teenagers (Adler and Loteka, 1973; Alexander and Campbell, 1967; Bacon and Jones, 1968; Calahan, 1969; Forslund and Gustafson, 1970; Globetti, 1972; Jessor et al., 1968; Jessor and Jessor, 1975; Maddox and McCall, 1964).

Newell (1950) speculated about the family as an independent variable affecting the problem behavior of family members and raised relevant issues about the potential psychological effects on a child with an alcoholic parent. There is some evidence that an alcoholic parent exposes a child to higher

risks of alcoholism and, furthermore, alcoholic fathers may have some direct effects on development of deviant personality characteristics in their children (Baker, 1945). For example, Bleuler (1955) found the incidence of alcoholism among children of high socioeconomic status alcoholics significantly higher than in the general population; however, Roe (1945) discovered the incidence of alcoholism among children with two alcoholic parents to be suppressed when they were later studied after growing up in foster homes.

The proposition that problem drinking not only affects the person but also other members of the family receives additional research support from a variety of sources (e.g., Bailey, 1961; Day, 1961; Haberman, 1966; Harmsworth, 1954; Trice, 1966). General trends revealed by these studies suggest the problem drinker is less likely to show strong attachment to the family and other community institutions than are his youthful peers (Globetti, 1972; Globetti and Windham, 1967; and Weschler and Thum, 1973). Alexander (1975) found a relationship between closeness of relationship to father and teenage drinking.

Calahan (1969) combined a set of sociological and psychological correlates of deviance earlier developed by Jessor and associates (1968). Of particular interest, for purposes of the present study, is Calahan's use of a variable measuring close personal ties to primary groups (e.g., the family); close family ties presumably might encourage conformity to norms of moderation or abstinence, under the assumption that those

without such ties will tend to have a higher influence of drinking related problems.

Tec (1970) used the family as an independent variable that could account for differential involvement of high school teenagers in deviant behavior (in this case, drug abuse). Involvement with drug abuse among youth was positively associated with parental drug use and negatively associated with the degree of controls and pressures of the family upon the youth to avoid drug use. Participation in drug usage also varied according to the satisfaction and attachment derived by teenagers from the family.

Numerous other studies have revealed a relationship between parental and teenage drinking. For example, Bacon and Jones (1968) conclude that parents are the most important single influence in the drinking behavior of teenagers. Their data (from a Wisconsin sample) revealed that "three-fourths of the students whose fathers drink once a week or more are drinkers themselves compared with one-third of those whose fathers never drink." Similar findings are evident with mother's drinking. Prendergast and Schaefer (1974) found (in a semirural high school in North Carolina) father's drinking to be related, but not to the degree reported by Bacon and Jones. Globetti and Windham (1967) and Globetti (1972) found a positive parental-teenager drinking relationship (in two Mississippi studies). Similarly, Adler and Loteka (1973), Preston (1968-69), and Rachal et al. (1975) found teenage drinking associated with parental drinking. Forslund and

Gustafson (1970) found drinking behavior of the mother influenced all children; father's drinking behavior only appeared to affect the daughters. Harford (1976) found parental drinking models more influential than the church.

In summary, the following variables seem to be of particular relevance:

a. Drinking of father
b. Drinking of mother
c. Closeness of relationship with father
d. Closeness of relationship with mother
e. Communication with father
f. Communication with mother

THE PEER GROUP AND PROBLEM DRINKING

Several studies examine peer group pressures and problem drinking but reveal conflicting findings. Maddox (1962) and Maddox and McCall (1967), for example, support the notion that teenagers learn the idea of drinking from both parents and peers and, typically, in that order. They suggest a teenager's identification with either adolescent peer groups or adults is related both to his reaction to the use of alcohol and to his own self-conception as a drinker or non-drinker.

Studies that suggest more powerful peer group than family influence pervade the literature. Kane and Patterson (1972) studied the social and demographic characteristics of 19,929 Kentucky high school students and concluded that drinking teenagers tend to view their closest friends and

classmates as drinkers. Alexander (1964) found that natural cliques of teenagers showed a consensus of drinking behavior; and Alexander and Campbell (1967) further demonstrated choices of friends among young people might be influenced by shared drinking behavior. Globetti (1972) strongly asserts that peer-associated drinking usually has overtones of rebelliousness against, and alienation from, adult institutions, including the family.

Globetti and Windham (1967), Jessor and Jessor (1975), and Preston (1968-69) found a positive relationship between peer and teenage drinking. Alexander and Campbell (1967) found peer groups to have an important influence on male adolescents who drink but felt this may be particularly true in regions where alcohol is more unacceptable (such as in North Carolina where Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian denominations predominate). Weschler and Thum (1973) found that heavy drinkers were more likely to have friends who drink and to perceive drinking among peers as widespread. Forslund and Gustafson (1970) found peer pressure to be an important influence, particularly on girls. Adler and Loteka (1973) found peers to be more influential for drinkers and parents more influential for non-drinkers. Alexander (1975) reported a positive relationship between a teenager's drinking behavior and that of his or her best friend.

On the other hand, some investigators take the position that the role and influence of peer group pressures on youthful problem drinking is disto ted and, if anything, overemphasized

in the literature. Maddox (1964, p. 39) claims that "many adolescents would learn to drink if there were no contact with peer groups whatsoever." Likewise, a large proportion of adolescents continue to be non-drinkers even when regularly associated with groups of adolescents who drink.

Evidence of a distinctly shared "youth culture" supporting drinking among youths is not apparent. Peer groups have an important influence on drinking behavior of teenagers; however, the particular nature of those relationships have not been clearly established. The following variables seem to be of particular significance:

a. Drinking behavior of friends;

b. Number of close friends; and

c. Communication with friends.

As further determinents of drinking behavior, we examine other influences perceived by young people, credibility teenagers attribute to various groups or individuals (i.e., what is the best source of information about drinking). Adler and Loteka (1973) report that those teenagers who drink report the most trusted source of information is friends while the non-drinkers report mass media as the most significant. We also examine how teenagers feel about their community as a place of residence.

METHODS

The study population included all eighth and twelfth grade students from largely rural schools in three counties in

northern Idaho. The principal industries are lumbering, wood-processing, and livestock or wheat farming. The larger communities are commercial centers serving these industries and have a high proportion of students whose parents are involved in local business. Eighth and twelfth graders were chosen for comparison because they represent both the early and later stages of the teenage period. All school officials were quite willing to allow data to be collected, which suggests a strong concern about understanding the nature of teenage drinking and resolution of any serious problems revealed by the study.

Items in the schedule of questions were heavily based on earlier studies. However, several new questions were developed to seek data that has not heretofore been examined. In all cases, the questionnaires were administered by the principal investigator or a graduate assistant. A prepared set of instructions was used to encourage consistency. The questionnaire was administered in the classroom setting. Data collection was completed during a three-month period ending in January, 1977.

The 889 students studied were predominantly white (96%), but there were 19 (2%) native Americans and 19 (2%) "others." Ten percent of the respondents were from situations where the mother was head of household. Eighty-six percent were from homes with fathers as head and the remaining 4% were from homes where other family members were responsible for children.

Although no student refused to respond to the questions, a few responses were clearly facetious or questionnaires were

not completed. Facetious items or incomplete questions were eliminated. There is therefore considerable variation in the total numbers appearing in the tables.

Data were collected on consumption of beer, wine, and liquor, but only the predominant pattern, beer drinking, is analyzed in detail here. One table indicates the extent of drinking for all three beverages and later reports will provide greater detail and comparisons among kinds of alcoholic beverages consumed.

DEFINITIONS

For purposes of analysis and discussion the respondents were grouped into the following four categories:

Non-drinkers (ND's).--Respondents who report never drinking beer, wine or liquor.

Seldom drinkers (SD's).--Respondents who report drinking about one time a year.

Occasional drinkers (OD's).--Respondents who report drinking at least one or two times a month.

Frequent drinkers (FD's).--Respondents who report drinking at least one or two times a week.

FINDINGS

Drinking Behavior

The extent of drinking is summarized in Table 1. Sixteen percent of the eighth graders consider themselves frequent beer drinkers (FD's); 24% are occasional beer drinkers (OD's); 27% are seldom drinkers (SD's); and 34% are non-drinkers (ND's).

Among twelfth graders, 34% are frequent beer drinkers (FD's); 31% are occasional drinkers (OD's); 17% are seldom drinkers (SD's); and 19% classify themselves non-drinkers (ND's). Although many of the teenagers in the study group drink wine and liquor, beer is clearly the most popular alcoholic beverage consumed.

TABLE 1

Drinking behavior

	Beer %	Wine %	Liquor %
Eighth grade			
FD*	16	7	8
OD	24	22	17
SD	27	35	30
ND	34	36	45
	(N = 445)	(N = 446)	(N = 447)
Twelfth grade			
FD	34	6	10
OD	31	23	25
SD	17	37	36
ND	19	33	29
	(N = 417)	(N = 414)	(N = 414)

*FD, frequent drinkers, respondents who report drinking beer at least one or two times a week; OD, occasional drinkers, respondents who report drinking about one or two times a month; SD, seldom drinkers, respondents who report drinking at least one time a year; ND, non-drinkers, respondents who report never drinking alcohol.

These findings are unexpected inasmuch as a larger proportion of teenagers report drinking at least occasionally than most other studies have shown (Adler and Loteka, 1973; Glassco, 1975; Globetti, 1972; Globetti and Windham, 1967; Harford, 1976; Maddox, 1964; and Weschler and Thum, 1973). This may imply that

rural youth tend to drink at a higher rate than youth in general, or the rate of drinking may be higher in rural communities with minimal alternative recreational outlets. In any case the high rate of alcoholic beverage consumption seems startling regardless of the possible explanations.

Beer Drinking and Sex Divergence

As indicated in Table 2, there are substantial sex differences in beer drinking at the eighth grade level and even more pronounced divergence in the twelfth grade. For example, 19% of the eighth grade males can be classified as FD's compared to 12% of the females; 28% of the eighth grade males are OD's as compared to 19% of their female classmates; 42% of the eighth grade females are ND's whereas 28% of the males are so classified. This finding is contradictory to Bacon and Jones' finding that in rural areas twice as many males as females drink in the 14-15 age group.

Among the twelfth graders, 43% of the males as compared to 25% of the females are FD's. Thirty-five percent of the males and 27% of the females are OD's while 10% of the males and 24% of the females are SD's. Thirteen percent of the males and 24% of the females are ND's.

Males are obviously more likely to drink beer than are females, but the difference is greater among twelfth graders. Apparently males are more likely to become frequent drinkers during their high school years, while a substantial proportion of females tend to become drinkers during the same period but to a lesser degree.

TABLE 2

Beer drinking among males and females

	Male %	Female %
Eighth grade		
FD	19	12
OD	28	19
SD	25	27
ND	28	42
	(N = 215)	(N = 201)
Twelfth grade		
FD	43	25
OD	35	27
SD	10	24
ND	13	24
	(N = 212)	(N = 203)

These findings are in contrast to Weschler and Thum's work (1973) which suggested there were no sex differences among senior high school students. Again, the implication is that drinking may be more normative for males in "rural" communities than for females--not an unexpected finding, since the tradition of less female "liberation" may remain stronger in rural communities.

Location of Drinking

The most common "place of first drink: is at home for both occasional drinkers and frequent drinkers (Table 3); the most frequent places for later drinking are at parties or in cars. This finding is in contrast to Globetti's (1969) that place of first drink was outside the home. (Table 4)

TABLE 3

Location of initial drinking

	Home %	Friend's home %	Relative's home %	Other adult's home %	A party %	Somebody's car %	In the Country %	At a bar %	At a dance %	Other %
Eighth graders										
FD (N = 74)	49	8	3	3	14	8	6	0	3	5
OD (N = 105)	43	14	11	2	10	4	9	1	3	4
SD (N = 115)	50	10	15	2	4	2	8	0	3	7
Twelfth graders										
FD (N = 141)	36	16	4	1	16	9	6	0	4	8
OD (N = 129)	33	10	6	3	15	19	8	0	2	5
SD (N = 68)	29	19	12	4	10	15	4	0	0	6

TABLE 4

Most frequent place of drinking

	Home %	Friend's home %	Relatives home %	Other adult's home %	A party %	Somebody's car %	In the country %	At a bar %	At a dance %	Other %
Eighth graders										
FD (N = 73)	22	14	1	1	23	23	5	0	4	6
OD (N = 103)	24	30	4	2	18	4	10	0	3	6
SD (N = 114)	47	11	9	3	6	3	10	0	5	7
Twelfth graders										
FD (N = 134)	10	8	2	0	25	40	7	3	1	5
OD (N = 128)	12	14	2	1	23	36	9	1	2	1
SD (N = 64)	30	9	5	3	30	19	3	0	0	2

In sum, as students move through high school, their drinking appears to become more centered in the peer group and less associated with the home. Availability of transportation is no doubt an important factor in this transition.

Securing Alcohol

Most of the drinkers obtain alcoholic beverages from friends the same age or older (Table 5). For example, 60% of the eighth grade OD's and 62% of the eighth grade FD's obtain alcoholic beverages from friends, 27% of the OD's and 24% of the FD's secure the alcoholic beverages from parents and older relatives. Only 10% of the OD's and 8% of the FD's admit to securing alcoholic beverages from home without parents' knowledge.

TABLE 5

Securing alcohol

	Parents and older relatives %	Friends same age or older %	Bootlegger %	From home w/o parents' knowledge %
Eighth graders				
FD (N = 63)	24	62	6	8
OD (N = 88)	27	60	2	10
SD (N = 97)	56	37	3	4
Twelfth graders				
FD (N = 125)	7	88	3	2
OD (N = 125)	8	91	1	0
SD (N = 60)	28	72	0	0

Among the twelfth graders, 91% of the OD's and 88% of the FD's obtain the beverages from friends, while 8% of the OD's and 7% of the FD's obtain the beverages from parents or older relatives. Again, the transition from family or home to peer group support of drinking is clear as respondents get older, but obviously both eighth and twelfth graders most often obtain alcoholic beverages from friends.

FAMILY INFLUENCE

Fathers' Drinking Behavior

Father's drinking behavior is associated strongly with the drinking patterns of the children (Table 6). For eighth graders a greater proportion of fathers who are non-drinkers also have children who are non-drinkers. Fathers who are frequent drinkers have a somewhat greater proportion of children in the frequent drinking category. The influence of a non-drinking father appears to decline as age of respondent increases; twelfth graders with non-drinking fathers are much more inclined to drink than eighth graders with non-drinking fathers.

Mothers' Drinking Behavior

The findings for mother influences are similar to those of the father, with the exception of the non-drinking mother (Table 7). The non-drinking mother appears to have more influence on the drinking pattern of eighth graders than on twelfth graders, but for both grades the influence of the mother appears to be less than the father.

TABLE 6

Drinking and frequency of father's drinking

	Father's drinking pattern		
	Frequent drinkers %	Drinkers %	Non-Drinkers %
Eighth graders			
FD	21	19	9
OD	25	28	18
SD	25	29	26
ND	29	25	47
	(N = 171)	(N = 118)	(N = 137)
		Gamma* = .20	
Twelfth graders			
FD	37	35	30
OD	33	35	28
SD	15	17	17
ND	15	13	26
	(N = 153)	(N = 102)	(N = 149)
		Gamma = .11	

*Gamma is a measure of association which in this and other tables suggests the degree of relationship between results of two items in the questionnaire. Gammas of .20 and .11 suggest a relationship between frequency of drinking and drinking pattern of fathers. Frequent drinkers are more likely to have fathers who are frequent drinkers; the relationship is stronger among eighth graders than twelfth graders.

TABLE 7

Drinking and frequency of mother's drinking

	Mother's drinking pattern		
	Frequent drinkers %	Drinkers %	Non-drinkers %
Eighth graders			
FD	24	21	10
OD	35	25	19
SD	18	26	30
ND	24	27	41
	(N = 89)	(N = 114)	(N = 226)
		Gamma = .28	
Twelfth graders			
FD	42	38	28
OD	28	36	30
SD	15	9	22
ND	15	17	20
	(N = 81)	(N = 106)	(N = 221)
		Gamma = .19	

These findings lend some support to Bleuler's (1955) and Roe's (1945) results which related drinking behavior of parents and children and numerous later studies (Adler and Loteka, 1973; Bacon and Jones, 1968; Forslund and Gustafson, 1970; Harford, 1976; Globetti, 1972; Globetti and Windham, 1967; and Prendergast and Schaefer, 1974) which demonstrated a relationship between drinking behavior of parents and teenagers.

Relationship with Father

The closeness of relationship of the teenager to his or her father shows a modest association with frequent drinking (Table 8). Children with a closer than average relationship with their fathers are less likely to be frequent drinkers than children who have a less close relationship.

TABLE 8

Drinking and relationship with father

	Closer than average %	As close as average %	Less close than average %
Eighth graders			
FD	15	13	28
OD	22	28	14
SD	26	27	28
ND	37	32	30
	(N = 179)	(N = 181)	(N = 71)
		Gamma = -.10	
Twelfth graders			
FD	32	32	43
OD	33	30	30
SD	14	19	15
ND	21	18	12
	(N = 146)	(N = 181)	(N = 83)
		Gamma = -.11	

Relationship with Mother

The correlation between a "closer relationship with mother" and less drinking is quite comparable to closeness with the father (Table 9). A major difference is that non-drinking twelfth

TABLE 9

Drinking and relationship with mother

	Closer than average %	As close as average %	Less close than average %
Eighth graders			
FD	14	14	33
OD	25	23	20
SD	26	29	25
ND	36	34	22
	(N = 228)	(N = 160)	(N = 49)
		Gamma = -.10	
Twelfth graders			
FD	33	34	39
OD	28	32	39
SD	14	20	14
ND	25	15	7
	(N = 174)	(N = 179)	(N = 56)
		Gamma = -.15	

graders are more than three times as likely to come from families with closer than average parent-child relationships. It would appear that family relationships strongly influence whether a child will remain a non-drinker as he/she goes through high school.

This supports the findings of Alexander (1975), Tec (1970), Globetti (1972), Globetti and Windham (1967), Weschler and Thum (1973), and Calahan and associates (1968) that close personal ties to family decrease the likelihood of drinking.

Communication with Father

Lack of communication ("Do you ever talk about your problems with your father?") between parent and child as a casual influence on teenager drinking is partially supported by these data. More communication with father is associated with less frequent drinking among twelfth grade students (Table 10). A reversal of the trend occurs at the highest levels of communication for twelfth graders. Perhaps this level of communication with fathers actually increases the acceptability of drinking. It is plausible that such fathers may openly share drinks with their teenagers (N = 16 for twelfth graders) who always talk about problems, with their father.

TABLE 10

Drinking and communication with father

	Never %	Sometimes %	Usually %	Always %	Father not present %
Eighth graders					
FD	29	12	13	19	6
OD	18	26	16	34	29
SD	21	28	31	19	35
ND	32	34	41	28	29
	(N = 106)	(N = 217)	(N = 64)	(N = 32)	(N = 17)
			Gamma = .09		
Twelfth graders					
FD	35	34	23	63	23
OD	34	31	30	19	31
SD	20	17	16	6	8
ND	12	19	30	13	39
	(N = 112)	(N = 214)	(N = 56)	(N = 16)	(N = 13)
			Gamma = .10		

Communication with Mother

Stronger relationships emerge with regard to mother-child communication (Table 11); the pattern is somewhat more linear in this instance and a higher proportion of both age levels indicate greater communication with mother.

TABLE 11

Drinking and communication with mother

	Never %	Sometimes %	Usually %	Always %	Mother not present %
Eighth graders					
FD	29	16	10	17	13
OD	28	25	21	17	13
SD	19	27	29	24	50
ND	24	32	39	42	25
	(N = 54)	(N = 237)	(N = 99)	(N = 41)	(N = 8)
			Gamma = .18		
Twelfth graders					
FD	39	36	24	31	50
OD	35	33	27	22	17
SD	17	17	16	18	33
ND	9	14	33	29	0
	(N = 66)	(N = 210)	(N = 84)	(N = 45)	(N = 6)
			Gamma = .20		

INFLUENCE OF PEER GROUP

Several dimensions of peer relationships are analyzed: drinking behavior of peers, communication with peers, and number of best friends.

Drinking Behavior of Friends

The data in Table 12 clearly indicate a positive relationship between having friends who drink and frequency of drinking, among both the eighth and twelfth graders. For example, among eighth graders those who have three-fourths or more of their best friends who drink are 20 times more likely to be frequent drinkers. At the twelfth grade level the contrast is less extreme but remains strong. Conversely, more than eight times as many students who have no friends who drink are also non-drinkers. Obviously teenagers who drink tend to associate with other teenagers who also drink.

TABLE 12

Drinking and proportion of close friends who drink

	None %	A few %	About half %	More than half %	3/4 or more %
Eighth graders					
FD	2	4	16	32	43
OD	4	22	29	34	33
SD	24	37	29	21	17
ND	70	37	26	13	8
	(N = 92)	(N = 138)	(N = 62)	(N = 53)	(N = 89)
			Gamma = -.61		
Twelfth graders					
FD	5	0	18	30	54
OD	14	33	33	43	29
SD	14	27	22	21	11
ND	68	39	27	6	6
	(N = 22)	(N = 66)	(N = 67)	(N = 53)	(N = 207)
			Gamma = -.62		

The relationship is strong with reference to the drinking habits of best friends. Among the eighth grade students those with a best friend who does not drink are four times more likely to be non-drinkers than if their best friend drinks (Table 13). The ratio is 6:1 for twelfth graders; the influence of the best friend's drinking behavior on non-drinkers appears to be stronger for twelfth graders than for eighth graders.

TABLE 13

Drinking and best friend drinking

	Yes %	No %
Eighth graders		
FD	25	4
OD	34	8
SD	25	28
ND	15	61
	(N = 256)	(N = 167)
	Gamma = .74	
Twelfth graders		
FD	41	8
OD	34	20
SD	17	17
ND	9	56
	(N = 332)	(N = 77)
	Gamma = .73	

These findings provide strong support for the findings of Adler and Loteka (1973), Alexander (1964 and 1975), Alexander and Campbell (1968), Forslund and Gustafson (1970), Globetti (1972), Kane and Patterson (1972), Preston (1968-69), and

Weschler and Thum (1973). Conversely, Maddox' (1964) assertion that the role of the peer group has been overemphasized is not supported.

Number of Friends

The number of close friends also seems to be relevant. Among the eighth graders those with four or more close friends are somewhat more likely to be frequent drinkers that those with less than four friends (Table 14). Conversely, those with less than four friends were more likely to be non-drinkers. For twelfth graders those with four or more friends are slightly more likely to be frequent drinkers or non-drinkers than those with less than four friends, but overall the number of close friends does not seem to make much difference for twelfth graders.

TABLE 14

Drinking and number of close friends

	0-3 %	4 or more %
Eighth graders		
FD	11	19
OD	20	26
SD	27	27
ND	43	28
	(N = 164)	(N = 275)
	Gamma = -.27	
Twelfth graders		
FD	32	35
OD	32	31
SD	19	16
ND	17	19
	(N = 144)	(N = 268)
	Gamma = -.03	

Communication with Friends

There is a correlation between "talking about problems with best friends" and drinking behavior (Table 15). Among both eighth and twelfth graders the greater the problem related communication with best friends the more frequent is drinking. This is particularly interesting because high problem related communication with parents is associated with less drinking while low problem related communication with peers seems to be associated with less drinking.

TABLE 15

Drinking and talking about problems with best friends

	Never %	Sometimes %	Usually %	Always %
Eighth graders				
FD	12	12	21	26
OD	9	24	27	26
SD	18	28	29	22
ND	61	36	23	27
	(N = 33)	(N = 225)	(N = 119)	(N = 55)
		Gamma = -.26		
Twelfth graders				
FD	26	33	33	42
OD	39	31	28	33
SD	13	16	18	19
ND	22	19	21	6
	(N = 23)	(N = 221)	(N = 114)	(N = 64)
		Gamma = -.09		

The relationship between drinking and number of close friends, as well as communication with best friends, forcefully

supports numerous earlier findings that primary relationships with other teenagers are strongly related to drinking behavior.

INFLUENCE OF FRIENDS, PARENTS, AND OTHER ADULTS

Both family and peer group socialization are important correlates of drinking, but peer group influence clearly increases with age while parental influence diminishes. Parents are more influential with non-drinkers than friends, police, teachers, religious leaders, and counselors in both eighth and twelfth grades (Table 16).

The pattern changes for eighth and twelfth graders who are FD's. Both groups are much more influenced by their friends. This lends support to Adler and Loteka's (1973) findings. The shift from parent to peer orientation is apparently most pronounced for those eighth graders who start as seldom drinkers and become heavier drinkers.

CREDIBILITY OF ADULTS

Among the eighth graders all four groups--ND's, SD's, OD's, and FD's--perceived their parents as "the best place to get correct information about the effects of drinking." Counselors were chosen as the next most credible (Table 17).

The findings were somewhat different for twelfth graders. Parents were most frequently selected by ND's, followed by the mass media. For the SD's, OD's, and the FD's, the mass media was clearly perceived as the best source. Adler and Loteka, however, found that teenagers who drink felt friends were the

TABLE 16

Drinking and predominant influence

	Parents %	Friends %	Police %	Teachers %	Religious leaders %	Counselors %	Other %
Eighth graders							
FD (N = 59)	29	58	0	3	0	0	10
OD (N = 87)	32	56	0	0	1	1	9
SD (N = 109)	53	34	0	1	0	0	11
ND (N = 133)	59	15	0	1	2	1	20
Twelfth graders							
FD (N = 123)	10	60	4	1	2	0	24
OD (N = 120)	15	65	2	1	1	0	17
SD (N = 63)	21	52	0	0	2	2	24
ND (N = 66)	53	17	0	0	5	0	26

TABLE 17

Drinking and credibility of information

	Parents %	Friends %	Police %	Teachers %	Religious leaders %	Couselors %	Mass media %	Other %
Eighth graders								
FD (N = 71)	34	3	14	4	4	20	4	17
OD (N = 98)	41	2	9	4	1	22	11	9
SD (N = 106)	45	2	12	2	3	17	12	7
ND (N = 132)	38	3	11	4	4	17	10	14
Twelfth graders								
FD (N = 135)	19	4	7	2	2	22	25	19
OD (N = 125)	18	2	16	0	0	18	26	20
SD (N = 66)	21	0	9	2	3	18	27	20
ND (N = 69)	26	4	13	6	6	15	20	10

most trusted source of information whereas the mass media was considered the best source for the non-users. Counselors were considered the second best source by the FD's, followed by family.

COMMUNITY SATISFACTION

Finally, the rural teenagers' response to their community provides interesting and significant data. More of the frequent drinkers are dissatisfied with their community than are the non-drinkers among both the eighth and twelfth grades (Table 18).

TABLE 18

Drinking and community satisfaction

	Satisfaction %	Dissatisfaction %
Eighth graders		
FD	12	26
OD	23	26
SD	29	23
ND	37	26
	(N = 312)	(N = 121)
	Gamma = .20	
Twelfth graders		
FD	29	44
OD	33	28
SD	17	15
ND	21	14
	(N = 121)	(N = 117)
	Gamma = .14	

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

At least 16% of eighth graders and 34% of twelfth graders in North Central Idaho counties drink frequently. A much higher proportion of each age level drink occasionally. Both eighth and twelfth graders tend to have their first drink at home; home is also the most frequent drinking place for eighth graders, and the car is the most common drinking place for the twelfth graders. Both groups obtain alcoholic beverages primarily from their friends.

Drinking behavior of parents, closeness of relationship with parents, and communication with parents are strongly related to drinking patterns of both eighth and twelfth graders. An even stronger relationship, particularly for the twelfth graders, exists between drinking and friendship patterns. In both age groups those respondents who have four or more close friends are more likely to drink. A high degree of problem related communication with parents is associated with lower probability of drinking, while low problem related communication with peers is associated with less frequent drinking.

For both eighth and twelfth grade non-drinkers, parents are most influential in determining whether drinking occurs. Friends are more influential for frequent drinkers in both grades. Problem drinking is more likely to occur among families without close ties and when problem oriented communication between parents and child is minimal.

Both eighth and twelfth grade non-drinkers feel that parents are the best source of information about alcohol. The

same is true for eighth graders who drink. However, the twelfth grade drinkers feel the mass media are the most credible. Drinkers in both groups are more likely to want to move from the community where they live.

IMPLICATIONS FOR INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Social problems are in part a function of institutional arrangements in local communities. Rural communities suffering from outmigration are often faced with problems of inadequate facilities and an ideology characterized by preference for low taxes and low public expenditures.

The communities from which these data were taken vary in size and complexity but share a dependence on resource based employment and a rather limited tax base for provision of public services. There is a uniform tendency to limit the public provision of varied recreational outlets for teenagers or adults, and very limited investment is evident in services for treatment of problem drinking or other mental health problems among adults or teenagers. It is therefore not surprising that the incidence of drinking, and particularly frequent drinking, is high among both parents and teenagers.

If the social and health problems associated with drinking are to be alleviated over the long run it would appear to be essential that new or additional institutional arrangements be instituted to provide alternative outlets and treatment. This could take the form of additional and satisfying

recreational facilities and organized programs, with both facilities and professional staff to focus resources on resolution of teenage and adult drinking.

Furthermore, programs might be developed in the schools and in adult education programs to systematically increase awareness of the consequences of drinking, while presenting alternatives that might provide equivalent or greater satisfaction. Mass media programs might be much better used for such purposes than is presently evident.

Obviously the legal constraint prohibiting sale of alcoholic beverages to teenagers is of limited value, since intoxicants seem to be readily available to those who are willing to risk acquisition. Non-legalistic measures therefore seem called for.

The data suggest that parents, teachers, counselors, peers, mass media, and community institutions each affect whether or not young people in rural areas choose to drink. As age and grade level increase parental influence declines and peer and mass media influence increase. Any program to discourage abuse of alcohol must take into account at least these factors.

ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM OPTIONS

Programs Involving Parents

Given the clear influence of parents, particularly at younger age levels, it seems essential that parents be actively involved in alcohol education. For example, organizations such

as PTA have initiated prevention programs focused on parents and schools. In 1976 a project entitled Alcohol: A Family Affair was developed to aid parents, teachers, and students. The brochure includes guidelines for discussing alcohol use. The PTA has also emphasized programs to make parents more aware of their importance as role models, in part by bringing parents and teenagers together (Kimmel, 1976).

Schools

Idaho Code #33-1605 specifically requires:

> In all school districts there shall be instructions in health and physical fitness including effects of alcohol, stimulants, tobacco, and narcotics on the human system. The State Board of Education shall cause to be prepared such study guides, materials and reference lists as it may deem necessary to make effective the provisions of this section (1963: Ch. 13, 180, p. 27).

Obviously, if programs as prescribed by the legislature are to be effective, teachers and other school personnel need training to adequately undertake the instruction. For example, a model program (The Caspar Alcohol Education Program) has been established in Sommerville, Massachusetts, which provides workshops for training teachers on alcohol education and innovative teaching methods (NIAAA, p. 1). The project core consists of workshops for selected teachers in grades 3-12, with basic and advanced workshops depending on teacher needs.

A program in Eastern Washington (Whitman County Alcohol Information and Referral Center) trains volunteers to conduct programs in public schools throughout the county, using audio-visual and other techniques. In those schools where principals

prefer that instruction come from school personnel, staff members train teachers to conduct the program (personal communication with Dr. Tina Fuchini-Miller, May 16, 1977).

Similarly, a school curriculum designed to help young people understand human behavior and its sociological consequences is available in several Idaho counties and includes factual information about alcohol (personal communication with Karolyn Rogers, June 24, 1977).

An alcohol education curriculum for kindergarten through twelfth grade has been developed in Seattle, Washington. The curriculum can be used as part of traditional subject areas or as a separate unit. It includes instructional games, films, and teacher's manuals, and includes teaching training workshops and teacher assistance for implementing the program in the classroom (NIAAA, p. 1).

Peers

The data described above suggest forcefully that peers are the most predominant influence on alcohol use as students get older. Peer Counselors as a vehicle for reaching youth is basic in some successful programs, such as The Teenage Alcohol Abuse Prevention Program of New York City (NIAAA, p. 1).

Well prepared peer counselors may be the most effective single group in influencing drinking behavior of other teenagers. Materials and training might be designed specifically for peer counseling in rural communities.

Mass Media

The mass media are attributed strong influence, particularly by older teenagers. Several programs are using mass media. The Seattle Alcohol Education Curriculum uses films (NIAAA, p. 1). The PTA uses brochures, daily and weekly newspapers, radio and television broadcasts, wire services and the special educatior press (Kimmel, 1976).

Community

The data clearly show a relationship between community dissatisfaction and frequent drinking, which suggests that programs to prevent frequent drinking should focus in part on increasing the adequacy of community organizations to meet the needs of teenagers. Additional community based activities may often be needed, particularly for those teenagers who may be alienated from school. Youth recreational facilities are minimal in most rural communities in Idaho.

In some instances a Community and School Steering Committee may be helpful in planning programs for alcohol education involving many community units, particularly families, the school, community organizations and youth organizations (NIAAA, p. 1). The National PTA strongly encourages active student participation in community activities as one outlet that tends to decrease the likelihood of alcohol abuse. Local 4-H clubs have often taken an active part in educating teenagers about drinking. However, young people have tended to lose interest in such clubs after about age 14 (personal communication with Penny Morgan, June 10, 1977).

A program which focuses on the family, schools, peers, mass media, and the community has been developed in a rural Wisconsin community. The Marshall Project is a comprehensive and broadbased program involving many dimensions of the community in locating and working with drinking teenagers. This prototype model has been sufficiently documented and refined that it may provide a useful starting point for other communities. Prevention and evaluation packages include health curriculum input, videotapes of the physiological aspects of alcohol abuse, and parent effectiveness courses, as well as the design of community linkages which include clergy, police, PTA, and other groups.

Severe Alcohol Abuse

Several programs exist for teenagers who have severe problems related to alcohol abuse. For example, a program of court referrals in Latah County, Idaho, offers information and resources to solve drinking problems of teenagers. However, this service is not available unless the teenager is involved in court proceedings (personal communication with Karolyn Rogers, June 24, 1977).

In Whitman County, Washington, there is an Alcohol Information School for youth who have been referred because of involvement with alcohol. The program includes information and counseling for both youth and parents.

In sum, it seems clear that responsibility for focused attention to alcohol problems of youth rests not only with the formal educational system but also with other community institutions. As one noted authority prescribed:

> I am suggesting that we explore methods by which, within the home and outside the home, in a variety of settings, such as school, college, and community, those who are likely to use alcoholic beverages--especially children of drinking parents--undergo educational experience in responsible use of alcohol (Chafetz, 1973).

Chafetz feels the potential for creating social responsibility, including "responsible drinking behavior by those who choose to drink" lies with the educational institutions, the mass media and the family. He emphasizes the need to inform the student, "not to threaten or frighten him (Chafetz, 1973)."

Rural communities and outside institutions must be realistic about what is believable to teenagers. Young people are not likely to be persuaded that abstinence is appropriate when such a significant proportion of parents, teachers, and visible public leaders drink socially. The focus should be on known harmful or dangerous effects of alcohol abuse, with parents, schools, peers, health professionals, the mass media and other community units jointly at work. Alternative outlets for youthful energy seem essential in rural communities to help productively fill leisure hours.

REFERENCES

Adler, Peter T. and Lynn Loteka
1973 Drug use among high school students; patterns and correlates. The International Journal of the Addictions 8:537-548.

Alexander, C. N., Jr.
1969 Consensus and mutual attraction in natural cliques: a study of adolescent drinkers. American Journal of Sociology 69:395-403.

1975 Alcohol and adolescent rebellion. Social Forces 45:542-550.

Alexander, C. N., Jr. and E. W. Campbell
1967 Peer influence on adolescent drinking. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcoholism 28:444-453.

1968 Balance forces and environmental effects; factors influencing the cohesiveness of adolescent drinking groups. Social Forces 46:367-374.

Bacon, Margaret and Mary Brush Jones
1968 Teen-Age Drinking. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Bailey, M. B.
1961 Alcoholism and Marriage; a review of research and professional literature. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcoholism 22:81-97.

Baker, S. M.
1945 Social case work with inebriates, in Alcohol, Science and Society, Lecture 27.

Bleuler, Manfred
1955 Familial and personal background of chronic alcoholics in D. Diethelm (ed.), Etiology of Chronic Alcoholism. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers.

Calahan, Don
1969 A multivariate analysis of drinking-related problems in a community study. Social Problems 17.2 (Fall):234-247.

Chafetz, Morris E.
1973 Problems of reaching youth. The Journal of School Health 43(1):40-44.

Day, B. R.
1961 Alcoholism and the family. Marriage and Family, Chicago: 23-253.

Forslund, Morris A. and Thomas J. Gustafson
1970 Influence of peers and parents and sex differences in drinking by high school students. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcoholism 31:868-875.

Glassco, Kimball
1975 Drinking habits of seniors in a southern university. Journal of Alcohol and Drug Addiction 21:24-29.

Globetti, Gerald R.
1969 The use of alcohol among high school students in an abstinence setting. Pacific Sociological Review 12:105-108.

1972 Problem and non-problem drinking among high school students in abstinence communities. The International Journal of the Addictions 7:511-523.

Globetti, Gerald R. and Gerald O. Windham
1967 The social adjustment of high school students and the use of beverage alcohol. Sociology and Social Research 51:148-158.

Haberman, P. W.
1966 Childhood symptoms in children of alcoholics and comparison group parents. Journal of Marriage and Family 28:152-154.

Harford, Thomas C.
1976 Teenage alcohol use. Postgraduate Medicine 63(1):73-76.

Harmsworth, Harry
1954 A Survey of the Alcohol and Narcotic Problem in Idaho. Moscow: University of Idaho.

Jessor, Richard and Shirley W. Jessor
1975 Adolescent development and the onset of drinking. Journal of Studies on Alcohol 36:27-51.

Jessor, Richard, Theodore A. Graves, Robert Chauson, and Stanley W. Jessor
1968 Society, Personality and Deviant Behavior: a Study of a Tri-Ethnic Community. New York: Holt, Rinehardt, and Winston.

Kane, R. L. and E. Patterson
1972 Drinking attitudes and behavior of high school students in Kentucky. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcoholism 33:635-646.

Kimmel, Carol K.
1976 A prevention program with punch--the National PTA's alcoholic education project. The Journal of School Health 46:208-210.

Maddox, G. L.
1958 Drinking in high school, paper presented to Midwest meeting of the association for advancement of instruction about alcohol and narcotics (Indianapolis, November 9), p. 11.

1962 Teenage drinking in the United States, in J. D. Pittman and C. R. Snyder (eds.), Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., p. 230-245.

1964 Adolescence and alcohol in Raymond G. McCarthy (ed.) Alcohol Education for Classroom and Community. New York: McGraw-Hill, pp. 32-47.

1964 High school student drinking behavior--incidental information from two national surveys. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcoholism, p. 339-347.

1964 Drinking among teenagers; a sociological interpretation of alcohol use by high school students. Monograph #4, New Brunswick: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies.

Maddox, G. L. and G. C. McCall
1967 Patterns of drinking and abstinences, in Edmund W. Vaz (ed.), Middle Class Juvenile Delinquency. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, p. 157-178.

Newell, N.
1950 Alcoholism and the father image. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcoholism 11:92-96.

NIAAA
1977 Information and Feature Service, IFS No. 35, April 27, 1977.

Prendergast, Thomas J., Jr. and Earl S. Schaefer
1974 Correlates of drinking and drunkenness among high-school students. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol 25:232-242.

Preston, James D.
1968-69 Community norms and adolescent drinking behavior: A comparative study. Social Science Quarterly 49:350-359.

Rachal, J. Valley, Jay R. Williams, Mary L. Brehm, Betty
1975 Cavanaugh, R. Paul Moore and William C. Eckerman. A National Study of Adolescent Drinking Behavior Attitudes and Correlates. Conducted by the Research Triangle Institute for the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. Contract No. HSM42-73-80. Prepared for the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Available from the National Technical Information Service. Springfield, Va.

Roe, Anne
1945 Children of alcoholic parents raised in foster homes, in Alcohol, Science, and Society. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tec, Nechama
1970 Family and differential involvement with Marijuana: a study of surburban teenagers. Journal of Marriage and the Family 32:656-664.

Trice, Harrison M.
1966 Alcoholism in America. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Weschler, H. and D. Thum
1973 Teenage drinking, drug use and social correlates. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcoholism 34:1220-1227.

U. S. News and World Report
1975 Alcohol and Marijuana: spreading menance among teenagers.